/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

● 115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249/ he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He regarded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

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● 115 We then looked for another interpreter, the Calderun Victoriano Piñakué, about 17 years old and very open-minded with regard to "white" civilization. His father even once visited Popayán, the capital of the department of Cauca. Through this he had a somewhat broader outlook and became involved in a quarrel with a bad shaman, in which the latter took one of his eyes by magic. Since then old Piñakué has been blind in one eye. A younger brother of Victoriano is going to school in Inzá and is the helper of the sacristan there. Victoriano is very much interested in one day becoming acquainted with Popayán or even Bogotá. He speaks Spanish quite well and has already earned money on occasion in the service of the white colonists and in La Plata as a construction worker, in order to buy clothing of the whites for himself. By "white" the Paez mean the Spanish culture of the Colombians, namely, clothing, education, and corresponding customs, not, however, skin color or other characteristics of the white race.

[191] [464] [829]

Victoriano set great store by dressing, not like a Paez, but like a white. He was an enthusiastic fellow-worker, not, however, out of greed for money, but out of sincere interest, and at every opportunity he would ask how things were among us in Germany. With a great craving for knowledge, he would again and again have our photos of Europe explained to him, and he even made an effort to learn German.

115 156 554 In his native village of Calderas the work with Victoriano was very difficult, since he was very unpopular because he dresses like a white. Several times, when his fellow villagers were drunk, they even wanted to murder him. Once when we visited a house together, he was heckled by some tipsy men: he was called a sluggard who does nothing the whole day but talk with the "doctores" and go for walks. Besides, they said, he thinks that he is better than the rest of the Paez because he wears "white" clothing. When Victoriano replied that in his work among the whites it would be impossible for him to wear the Calderun costume, but that in his dress he was obliged to adjust to his environment, they retorted that he went to the whites merely in order to be able to eat more meat.

/108 cont./

115 156 554 [598] Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

124 286 386 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves; when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

124 423 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

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556 special sociological role within their community, for they are elected neither more frequently nor more rarely to the village offices. They have simply "always" been considered wealthy, though it should be noted that in the language of the Paez there [192] is no word at all for "rich" or "poor." The word used for "poor," "póre," comes from the Spanish (povre), and the word used for "rich," "čáčanas," at the same time means "strong" in the physi-
556 cal sense. Despite this apparent unimportance of wealth, how-
626 ever, it is jealously seen to that no other industrious man of a poor family will become rich and possibly put his wealth -- by means of Colombian dress or something similar -- on display. The evil shamans would put a spell on him or poison him, /205/ and the neighbors would devastate his fields by driving their cattle there. He would be cut by everyone, and people in a state of intoxica-
● 115 tion would start a fight with him in order to kill him. At any
556 rate, this is what happened and is happening to our interpreter,
626 Victoriano. He does not come from a wealthy family, but he wants to acquire money and livestock through diligence and
[291] ability. From the money he earned among the whites he has
[177] already bought himself the clothing of the whites, which he now proudly displays, and at festivals he sells wax candles and sweets. His fellow-villagers hate him on that account. The priest has had to protect him several times already from the machetes of drunken men who had started a fight with him; and in our presence, too, when we visited various houses with him, he was occasionally very rudely heckled by drunken men. Not least because, in the opinion
115 of the Calderun, he is not working. Again and again I tried to ex-
123 plain to the people that they, too, could "go walking" with me and
556 earn money if they were able to speak Spanish. Since this was
626 not the case, there was nothing else for me to do but always work with Victoriano. Nothing helped; Victoriano became more and more unpopular, and I, too, was regarded as a do-nothing. A
123 drunken man who, instead of the one cigarette he was given, vainly demanded an entire pack as a present abused me, too, as an "alko," a dog, who is always going from house to house and does not work.

/210 cont./

423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
● [115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
593 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241 It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
[476] help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however, After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

/265 cont./

right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the ec spirit; signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs on the head of the shaman announce that the nyic will send the pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential characteristic of being shamsns.

Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively because of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists, in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore

/266 cont./

greatly hated in the village. In an intoxicated state the men have often threatened to murder him. One day he came to us and said that we would have to hurry with our work, for he would soon die. He was by no means agitated when he said this, but smiled with an expression of absolute conviction. In answer to our question as to why, he stated that during the night he had dreamed of seeing himself in the grave. This is a sure sign that he must die. He would not let us ease his mind, for he knew, so he said, that he was unpopular in the village and he had been threatened with death anyway because he had seen more than the others, wore better clothes, and ate meat, instead of working in the village. For this reason the nyic would most certainly bring him to his death. It took several days and all our art of persuasion to get him away from this idea. Again and again we had to point out that, after all, he was a Christian, and as a precaution we had to give him many of our medications, before he would believe that perhaps he need not die after all. In any case his medallion of the Virgin Mary, which he always carries with him, does not unconditionally help against evil magic. In the following there are a few further examples of dreams that are significant in some way or other: if one dreams that he is bitten by a snake, it is a sign of bewitchment; if, however, in the dream another person kills this snake at the moment of biting, a teyu will put an end to the bewitchment. To dream of jaguars and cats indicates that there are graves of the Pijao under the house. Someone will die of the "pest" of the Pijao if a person dreams that a jaguar is devouring his chickens. Dreaming about a funeral pile means that there is gold there. If one dreams about a cow, his wife will die. If one kills a bull or a horse in a dream, a good person (a shaman) will die. If one is stung by wasps in a dream, it means future punishment. Carrying beams or a chicha trough in a dream means that one will soon assist at a funeral. To choke in a dream means war, captivity, or being put into prison. Moreover, it is always a bad sign to dream of arracacha; in case of a journey, one would, for example, be devoured by a jaguar in the páramo. Also, if one dreams that he is able to walk under a rock, it likewise means that a jaguar will devour him. If someone

*539 /296 cont./ bent down to his mother and shouted into her ear with the voice of thunder, "Ooooh," whereupon she came back to life. And he did the same thing to his sister. Llivan then left the house in order to see how many Pijao were dead; he went as far as Togoima, holding a pair of scissors in one hand and a bag in the other, and cut off the earrings and necklaces of all the dead Pijao and gathered them up in his bag. Near Togoima he found a young Pijao who had not yet been killed sitting in a hole; he had a human leg that he was going to eat because he was hungry. "Ah," said Llivan, "you are not yet dead?" -- whereupon he hurled his lightning and killed this Pijao also.

[192] Then Llivan carried all the ornaments that he had taken off the Pijao /297/ into one of the underground prehistoric burial caves (koátkac) of the kind that the Paez do not use to bury their dead. This cave was located near a river, and after Llivan had put down the ornaments, the river rose and covered the burial site with the treasures.

Then Llivan retumed to the house of his mother and said: "Now I have killed all the Pijao and none of them will ever come back. But now I can no longer live with you. Since I have killed so many Pijao, it is possible that I might kill you, too. I must therefore leave you. I bought myself a very beautiful house in the mountains and shall live alone from now on, but never die." His mother and sister both wept, but not he. Mother and sister offered to accompany him, but he declined. Then Llivan set out. His sister followed, in order to see where Llivan went, but Llivan was accompanied by the wind and therefore he went so fast that no one could follow him. The sister could only see that Llivan rose far behind into the air. Then it began to rain, and the clouds were very low, and Llivan fell down into the Hipendyk Lagoon. Thenceforth Llivan lived in the lagoon and became Thunder.

[115] Victoriano told me this detailed story after learning it from his father and his uncle. Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas told it to me in a similar way but much less completely.

1: Nachtigall--268 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 154. House with ladder.

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Ill. 155. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakué.

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[For information on the informants and interpreters used by the author in collecting specific examples of mythological tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, see category 116, pp. 10-32.]

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/291 cont./

773 They are in fact legendary personages who go beyond the
[186 boundaries of legend to enter the territory of myth, not only
[628 by their symbolism, but in their dramatic force, their socio-
logical framework, and their cultural function.

The mythology gravitates around the behavior of the natives, their attitudes toward the whites, the organization of the cabildo, illnesses, and death. Of Juan Chiracol, a 23-year-old informant says: "He warns when the mob is coming, he no longer warns, so." And of Thunder, it is said that he almost killed a padre because he went to the montaña to get wood to board up the school. "Thunder was defending the
538 wood," they say. The tales were always told around the fire,
773 with men, women, and children present, who sometimes laughed, at other times kept silent, but always corroborated, corrected, elaborated, or confirmed. The storytellers sometimes put on a serious face, accompanied their tale with mimicry, and once in a while they would burst into mocking laughter, as if to signify that what they were saying was worthless and they did not believe it. I was soon able to ascertain
• 115 their sociological and cultural value. The myths and tales
773 were collected with the help of an interpreter, a mestizo from San Andrés, about 35 /292/ years old, tall, muscular, quiet in manner, intelligent, calculating, with great charm and a knowledge of Paez and the Spanish language; he was familiar with the customs of the Calderunos, esteemed by them, and
773 skilled in his questioning. We present below the myths and
128 tales collected, leaving the other aspects of the culture for presentation in a complete monograph.

1. Thunder

*539 The old people related that at one time the area was full of Pijao. Thunder lived in Sukafi. In view of the growing number of Pijao, he decided to kill them. He stood on a tall stone that is to be found there, threw his lariat /boleadora/

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75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the tẽ eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
● [115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
[562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.

8: Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

600 Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Páez

By
Segundo Bernal Villa.

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124 /167/ The material for the study of the kinship system of
128 the Páez was collected in the month of May, 1953, thanks to the
[114] enthusiastic collaboration of Victoriano Piñakué, 18 years of age,
[115] bilingual, and a native of the parcialidad /a village and the lands belonging to it/ of Calderas. With this material we made an analysis of the kinship system, which we present below without any major modifications. It was later discussed with several native men of the parcialidad of San Andrés, who found it to be correct. At the end of May, 1954, we had the opportunity to discuss it again in Mosoco with two male informants of the lo-
[197] cality. They found practically no phonological differences, in spite of the fact that the Páez spoken in that parcialidad showed some different nuances in relation to that spoken in the other
124 parcialidades. They made only one fundamental observation,
128 which we accepted, since we consider it to be convincing. It
601 refers to the terms used to designate the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of EGO. According to Piñakué, they are designated with the Spanish terms: sobrino and sobrina /nephew and niece/. Jorge Mulcué (Mosqueño /a person from Mosoco/ 58 years old) affirmed that they are designated with the words kuẽ or wẽsak (son and daughter) preceded by the possessive my (anji).

601 Men and women use the same terms for both the paternal and the maternal line, with certain exceptions, subordinating the real degree of kinship to the generation. The Páez system of kinship terminology is, therefore, classificatory and bilateral.